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*Kate Carters  
account of  
Military in Utah*

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## Military Life in the West

"Now brethren, you are going as soldiers at your country's call. You will travel in a foreign land, in an enemy's country, and if you will live your religion, obey your officers, attend to your prayers, and as you travel in the enemy's land, hold sacred the property of the people, never taking anything that does not belong to you only in the case of starvation; though you may be traveling in an enemy's country, do not disturb fruit orchards or chicken coops or beehives, do not take anything but what you pay for—although it is customary for soldiers to plunder their enemies in times of war, it is wrong—always spare life when it is possible. If you obey this counsel, attending to your prayers to the Lord, I promise you in the name of the God of Israel, that not one soul of you shall fall by the hands of the enemy. You will pass over battlefields, battle will be fought in your front and in your rear, on your right hand, on your left, and your enemies shall flee before you. Your names shall be held in honorable remembrance to the latest generation."—*Advice to the Mormon Battalion soldiers by President Brigham Young.*

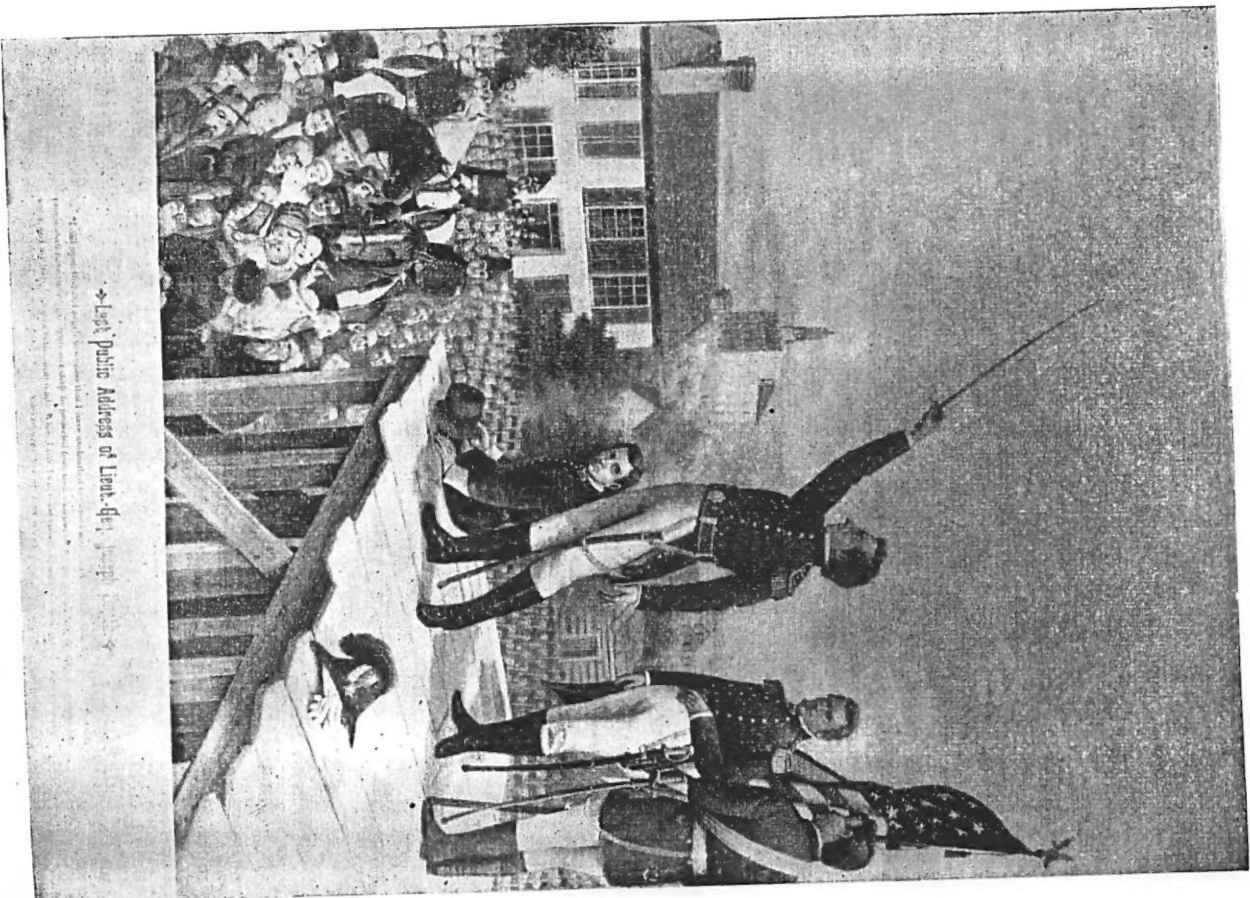
## UTAH MILITIA

When first the Mormons entered Illinois, they were recognized as sufferers for the cause of religion. Different counties offered hospitality to the newcomers. There was an economic consideration in these offers, inasmuch as the panic of 1837 had left Illinois financially prostrate; the Mormons were welcomed as needed colonists, to revive prosperity through the cultivation of the soil. Joseph Smith and his fellows selected a place on the Mississippi River, which later became known as Nauvoo.

Embittered by their persecution in Missouri, the Saints aimed to secure political as well as religious advantages in this new home. In Illinois the political situation afforded them the opportunity, as the two major political parties, the Whigs and Democrats, were equally divided. Therefore both parties were friendly to the Mormons, each hoping for enough

"Heard through  
of the West  
Feb 21  
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→ Left: Public Address of Prophet Joseph Smith

Prophet Joseph Smith addressing the Nauvoo Legion

votes from them to give them the balance of power. The people of Nauvoo soon signified their intention of joining neither group but to vote for men of both parties, or in other words, to show consideration for both parties for their acts of kindness toward the Mormons. Lincoln was a Whig and in the November election of 1840, his name was placed as a Whig candidate for the State Legislature; however, many of the people not wishing to show a decided political view, voted for the Democratic candidate.

The city of Nauvoo was incorporated by act of the Legislature of Illinois on the 14th of December, 1840. This charter granted to the citizens of Nauvoo most liberal powers in the management of their local affairs. About the only limit placed upon their powers was "that they do nothing inconsistent to the constitution of the state of Illinois or the Constitution of the United States." Governor Ford, in his history of Illinois, says: "Each party was afraid to object (meaning the liberties given the people) for fear of losing the Mormon vote." The charter provided for the election of Mayor, Councilmen and other officers. The Nauvoo Charter proper contained other Charters: One for the establishment of a University, the other for the organization of an Independent Military Body to be called the "Nauvoo Legion."

On the 3rd of February, 1841, this unique military organization came into existence when the City Council of Nauvoo authorized this body of militia.

"While most of the members of the Legion were Mormons, while one of its objects was the protection of the Mormon community from repetition of past outrages by armed mobs, and while it was more or less distinctive in character with reference to the regular militia of that period, it must not be supposed that it was purely a Mormon creation. The Nauvoo Legion was the legal and lawful child of the state of Illinois."—Orson F. Whitney.

Thomas Carlin was governor of Illinois and Stephen A. Douglas was secretary of the commonwealth and the signatures of both these men were signed to the act creating the Nauvoo Legion. Abraham Lincoln, afterward President of the United States, voted for the Nauvoo Charter and congratulated the Mormons in securing it. The Nauvoo Legion was an independent militia and had special privileges, yet it was a part of the militia of the State of Illinois. It was armed at the state's expense and subject to military duty at the call of the governor, by whom its officers were commissioned. The parts of the Charter pertaining to the Legion says:

1. The City Council of Nauvoo was empowered to organize the inhabitants of the city subject to military duty into an independent military body to be called "The Nauvoo Legion."

2. The court-martial, consisting of the commissioned officers of the Legion, was given full power and authority to make, ordain, establish and execute all laws and ordinances considered necessary for the benefit, government and regulation of the Legion, provided that no act of said court-martial should be repugnant to, or inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States or of the State of Illinois.

3. The Legion was to be at the disposal of the Mayor of Nauvoo in executing the laws and ordinances of the city, as well as at the disposal of



the Governor of Illinois for the public defense and the execution of the laws of that state or of the United States.

Immediately after the Charter went into effect, the City Council organized the Legion. It was to consist of two cohorts, the cavalry to constitute the first, and the infantry the second. It was to have a Lieutenant-General as its chief officer and he was to act as president of court-martial. Its next officer was a Major-General, who had chief command, then a Brigadier-General in command of each cohort. In an election of officers which followed, the following officers were elected: Joseph Smith as Lieutenant-General; John C. Bennett as Major-General; Wilson Law and Don Carlos Smith as Brigadier-Generals. Other officers were chosen to make a full company. John C. Bennett was a military man and a quartermaster in the Illinois Militia, and his knowledge of military affairs did much for the Legion. It has been said that the Legion patterned after the Roman Legion but most historians agree that it was modeled after a body of Illinois troops known as "The Invincible Dragoons," of which Mr. Bennett was an officer. At first the Legion had six companies. Then citizens of other towns in Hancock County received permission from the State Legislature to join the Legion. Soon the membership grew to five thousand men, many of whom were non-Mormons.

The ordinance organizing this body of militia provided that the court-martial should adopt as fast as possible the discipline, drill, rule, dress, and regulations of the United States Army. A law passed by the court-martial required all male citizens living in Nauvoo between the ages of 18 and 45, except those legally exempted, to perform military service in the Legion, under penalty of being fined for absence. Of the Nauvoo Legion, Joseph Smith said:

"The Nauvoo Legion embraces all our military power, and will enable us to perform our military duty to ourselves, and thus afford us the power and privileges of avoiding one of the most fruitful sources of strife, oppression and collision with the world. It will enable us to show our attachment to the nation and state, as a people, whenever the public service requires our aid, thus proving ourselves obedient to the paramount laws of the land, and ready at all times to sustain and execute them."

Under competent military officers and with strict regulations they soon became the foremost body of militia in the United States.

"It excited the jealousy and envy of the rest of the militias in surrounding counties, and all the laudable efforts of the Legion to become an efficient body of militia with a view of assisting in the execution of the State and National Laws if occasion should arise, where construed by their enemies to mean a preparation for rebellion. Hence, that which was to be a bulwark to the city and a protection to the saints was transformed by their enemies into an occasion of offense, and an excuse for assailing them."—B. H. Roberts.

The Military Parades of the Legion were great events in Nauvoo and were witnessed by visitors from far and near. Sham battles were fought and it was said that some claimed Joseph Smith to be a military prophet and compared him with Mohamet. The Legion was present as a military body at the laying of the cornerstone of the Nauvoo Temple. Its last public service was a few days before the Prophet's death, when he called the Legion to defend the city against armed mobs that were coming against it. While Joseph Smith was in Carthage jail, the governor demanded that the

Legion disarm, which it did. Soon after the martyrdom, the Charter of Nauvoo was repealed and the Legion passed out of existence in that state. Men of the Legion, however, acted in defense of their homes and city, defending themselves against the armed mobs that came against them. Some of the heroes of these last battles were: Daniel H. Wells, then not a Mormon; Milton Musser, Enoch B. Tripp and Angus Cannon, a mere boy at that time.

Then the westward march, and while camped on the Missouri River, came the call for 500 men to form the Mormon Battalion. The call met a prompt and patriotic response, and President Young, acting as recruiting agent among the veterans of the disbanded Nauvoo Legion, secured the men. The training they had received so helped that in three days, according to Colonel Kane, the force was organized, mustered, and ready to march.

Less than two years after the arrival of the pioneers in Utah, by legislative enactment, the name Nauvoo Legion was revived, and given to the newly organized militia of the State of Deseret. It was organized during March, April and May of 1849, under direction of Generals Charles C. Rich and Daniel H. Wells, the latter became Major-General with power of chief command, under the chief generalship of President Brigham Young. Among the prominent names connected with the organization of the militia were Jedediah M. Grant, Horace Eldredge, James Ferguson, Hiram B. Clawson, Lewis Robinson, Albert Carrington, P. Rockwood, Ezra T. Benson and Wilford Woodruff.

The first foes they were to meet were the misunderstood Redmen of the Rocky Mountains. President Young's admonition to the pioneers to feed, clothe and in every way show a feeling of friendliness to the Indians, was not always carried out, and there were times when the Indians could not be appeased.

Battle Creek, now Pleasant Grove, was the sight of the first skirmish. Colonel John Scott with thirty or forty militiamen drove the Indians into a nearby canyon.

A few months later, February, 1850, a serious battle occurred in Utah County. It began in Provo fort on the 8th of February. The militia was called into action and the Indians were driven away and the settlers were protected by the men of the militia.

Comparative peace prevailed for several years, though forts were built in nearly every settlement. During this time the famous arsenal was built on the hill north of Salt Lake City, and the so-called Spanish wall was built around the town. A new militia law was enacted by the State Legislature and Daniel H. Wells was named Lieutenant-General.

Then in 1853 came the outbreak of the Walker war, named for the Ute Chief Walker, whose depredations terrorized our southern counties for several months. Colonel George A. Smith, in command of the militia in southern Utah, took prompt measures to defend the towns threatened by the Redmen. He also acted in connection with President Young as peace-maker between the pioneer settlers and the Indians. Nevertheless many of the Redmen and a few of the settlers lost their lives in this war.

In April, 1857, the militia organization was further perfected, at which time the Territory of Utah was divided into thirteen military districts, each having its commander.

Great Salt Lake, General George D. Grant; Weber, General Chauncey



W. West; Davis, Colonel P. C. Merrill; Boxelder, Major Samuel Smith, Tooele, Major John Rowberry; Provo, Colonel William Pace; Lehi, Major David Evans; Payson, General Aaron Johnson; Nephi, Major George W. Bradley; Sanpete, Major Warren S. Snow; Fillmore, L. H. McCullough; Parowan, Colonel W. H. Dame; Green River, Isaac Bullock. Other officers were named in each district and the organization of the militia reached over six thousand members.

After the Echo Canyon War of 1857-1858, members of the Legion were called upon at different times to quell Indians who were troubling the Mormon towns. In 1862, during the Civil War, two companies, under Generals Smith and Burton, performed special duties when they guarded the mail route on the plains and through the mountains.

The Black Hawk War was the next encounter to be met by the Legion. This occurred during the years 1865, 1866 and 1867. At one time more than twenty-five hundred men were engaged in fighting the Indians in this war. Most of the divisions sent troops to the scene of the fighting. The authorities at Fort Douglas were appealed to for assistance, but in vain. The reply that came from General Pope, department commander, was to the effect that they must depend upon the militia to compel the Indians to behave. The main seat of war was the Sanpete, Sevier and Piute Counties, but the infection spread to other parts; even as far as Washington County, where Brigadier-General Erastus Snow was in command. Battles were fought in Salina Canyon, at Fish Lake, Thistle Valley, Gravelly Ford, Pine Valley, Twelve Mile Creek, Thistle Creek Canyon and other places.

In times of peace the Legion preserved its discipline by frequent drills and reviews. Each autumn an encampment of several days would be arranged in various parts, and spirited sham battles would occasionally take place. In some of these encampments near Salt Lake City as many as three thousand troops would participate.

In the year 1870, the governor of the territory, J. Wilson Shaffer, forbade the autumn musters, ignored the officers of the Legion, and thus put an end to the activities. A call had been made for a three-day muster for the purpose of elections and other business and while preparations were going on for this encampment, the Governor, Mr. Shaffer, issued two proclamations, the first appointing new generals, and the second, prohibiting all musters, drills and gatherings of the militia without his consent, or orders from the United States Marshal. The governor, therefore, ignored the old officers who had been elected according to law and commissioned by all former governors.

In 1871, a committee from the City Council of Salt Lake City requested General Wells to furnish a detachment of the militia, together with a band, to furnish music. General Wells issued the order for the one company of artillery, one company of calvary, and three companies of infantry to be ready to aid in the Fourth of July celebration. On the last day of June, Acting Governor, Secretary Black, issued an order countermanding the order of General Wells.

Its formal abolishment took place in March, 1887, when the Congress of the United States passed the Edmunds-Tucker Act.

"Its body now sleeps in the grave, where also lies buried the heartburns and animosities that bedclouded those periods in which it figured most conspicuously; but its spirit, the brave and loyal spirit of the Nauvoo

Legion still goes marching on. With the passing of the mists and shadows that partly obscured its glory in the past, and the dawning of a day of peace and good will upon the united people of this commonwealth, the sun of its fame shines forth, shedding the light of a glorious example in the pathway of its successors. Veterans of the Legion—Your services, your valor, your devotion to duty, to country and to principle are all appreciated. As heaven smiles upon your heroic deeds, in the clouded mornings of your careers through which the present light at length rifted, bestowing that success that was the parent of the present peace and prosperity, so may God's blessings shine like the setting sun upon the calm evening of your lives."—Orson F. Whitney's tribute to the men of the Legion.



DANIEL H. WELLS—THE SOLDIER

Daniel Hamner Wells, the second counselor to President Brigham Young from 1857 to 1877, was the son of Daniel Wells and Catherine Chapin. He was born at Trenton, Oneida County, New York, on October 27, 1814. His father served in the war of 1812, and was a direct descendant of the celebrated Thomas Wells, fourth governor of Connecticut. His mother was the daughter of David Chapin, a Revolutionary soldier, and was connected with one of the oldest and most distinguished New England families.

When Daniel was only twelve years old his father died, and six years later, he, together with his mother and sister moved to Ohio and then on to Illinois. They lived at Commerce, a small village which later became the noted "Mormon" City of Nauvoo. Here he was elected constable, justice of the peace and an officer in the first militia of that district.



"Squire" Wells was noted in those early days as a man of strict integrity, with a high sense of justice and impartiality. In 1839, when the Saints who were fleeing from Missouri settled at Commerce, he aided in securing for them a cordial welcome. Among other pieces of property he owned eighty acres of land on the bluff. This he platted into city lots and sold to the poor and persecuted refugees at a very low figure and on long time payment plans. This endeared him to the people and also determined the location of the chief part of the city, for the Nauvoo Temple was built on land that he had once owned.

On making the acquaintance of the Prophet Joseph Smith, he became strongly attached to him, though at the time he didn't belong to the Church. When the charter was granted by the Illinois Legislature to the City of Nauvoo, he was elected an alderman and a member of the City Council, also a regent of the university and a Brigadier-General in the Nauvoo Legion. When the opposition to the "Mormons" reached its height, General Wells remained on the side of the assailed people. The murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith aroused his deepest indignation and he strongly protested against the demand of the governor of Illinois for the arms of the Legion. But it was not until the exodus of the main body of the Church that this sterling champion of the opposed cast his lot with the Latter-day Saints. After his baptism on August 9, 1846, he gave the Church his full support and faith. In the battle of Nauvoo, General Wells was practically the leading spirit. On his white charger he was a prominent target for the enemy's bullets, but he was not injured. When the city was evacuated he was one of the last to leave and was fired upon by the enemy's cannon after crossing the river into Iowa. He sent one of the cannon balls with his compliments to the governor of Iowa, as a specimen of Illinois' respect for its obligations.

After settling his affairs in Illinois he started for the West and arrived in Utah in 1848. Out here in Utah he was elected Major-General of the Nauvoo Legion (State Militia) by the general assembly of the State of Deseret, May 26, 1849. He received the rank of Lieutenant-General, March 27, 1852.

In the Indian troubles that arose in Utah County and later in Sanpete County, General Wells took the field in person, routing the Redmen at Provo and other places and saving the Sanpete and Sevier settlements from the disasters that threatened them. His sixteen-year-old son, Daniel H. Wells, Jr., was his drummer boy. These Indian campaigns were conducted with great military skill and success, for he was a true leader. General Wells was in command of the Echo Canyon expedition in 1857-1858 and conducted it with signal skill without the shedding of one drop of blood.

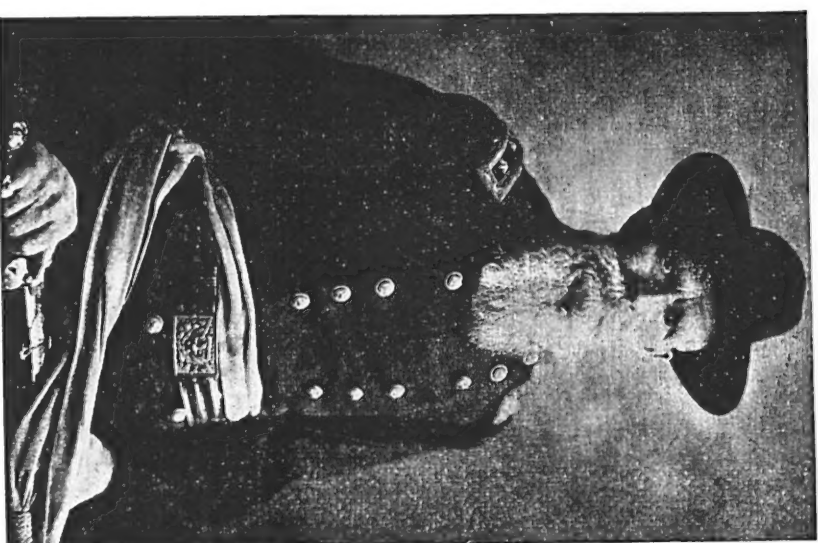
This was one of his favorite sayings and it was the creed by which he lived: . . . "And it is interwoven in my character never to betray a friend or brother, my country, my religion or my God."—*Clara Hedges Anderson*.

#### COLONEL ROBERT T. BURTON

Colonel Robert T. Burton of early American stock traveled extensively through the Eastern States, Central States, Europe and Southwestern Canada. June 11, 1844, found him in Illinois a few days before the martyrdom of the Prophet Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum. He had

become a member of the Church, and enlisted in Captain Gleason's Cavalry Company of the Nauvoo Legion. Early in life he became a military man. He possessed natural leadership. He was on guard duty in the City of Nauvoo at the time of the assassination of Joseph the Prophet, and for some time after, endeavoring to protect the lives and property of the people from mob violence and robbery. He was bugler of the Nauvoo Brass Band.

Two years after his arrival in the valley, July, 1847, the organization of a territorial militia was commenced among which was the first company



Colonel Robert T. Burton

of cavalry, Captain George D. Grant, commanding, and Mr. Burton acting as bugler for the company. Early in the following year this company was called into active service by the governor to defend the settlers in Utah County against the hostile Indians. Leaving Great Salt Lake on the evening of February 7, 1850, they traveled all night, arriving at Provo early the following morning, where they found the Indians fortified on the south bank of the Provo River. The Indians stoutly defended their position for three days against the attack of the militia.

However, on the third day the little company of cavalry, commanded

by Robert T. Burton, made a determined attack upon the Indians' fortified stronghold, but were momentarily checked by the fire of their opponents.

Burton's men quickly rallied, and charged upon the Indians from the one side, as Lot Smith brought up his men from the other side with such vigor, the Indians were routed from the protection of the cabin and fled to the mountains. He took part in many other Indian battles.

In the spring of 1852 Lieutenant Burton took a small company of men east to Green River to serve papers issued from the District Court and to protect the settlers from Indians and renegade white men. The following year he was made Captain of Company A. His Major's commission is dated March 1, 1855; his commission as Colonel is dated June 12, 1857; his commission as Major General, commanding the Salt Lake Military District, was given by Governor Durkee in 1868.

In October he went east with a company of picked men to rescue the handcart company who were in great distress some five or six hundred miles east of Salt Lake. The immigrants were stranded on the Pratt River. The weather was extremely cold, the snow deep, they ran short of provisions. This reduced the immigrants and their rescuers to one-fourth rations until an additional relief was sent from Salt Lake. After the immigrants were provided for as well as possible under the circumstances, Colonel Burton was placed in charge of the immigrant train, arriving at Salt Lake City the last day of November.

On the 15th of August, 1857, Colonel Burton was ordered to take a company of one hundred mounted men to assist the incoming immigrants and take observation of the movements of the approaching U. S. army, said to be coming for the purpose of exterminating the Mormons.

In 1862 he was ordered by Acting Governor Fuller to take a company of picked, courageous men and proceed as far east as the Platte River for the purpose of protecting the United States mail and telegraph route from the depredation of Indians and lawless white men, mail stations having been burned and stock driven off, mail sacks cut open and contents scattered. Thus he became a Civil War commander, keeping open an important line of communication on the North for President Abraham Lincoln. This duty he performed to the entire satisfaction of the Governor of the Territory and National Civil War authorities. The mail matter was collected and delivered to the Government Contractor on the Platte River.

"Burton as a man was entrusted with honorable and important positions in every walk of life. He was an outstanding figure among the people, in all the trying scenes passed through by them—plagues and poverty. And in all military efforts he ranked among the foremost.—Information from *Utah and the Civil War*."

#### THE OGDEN MILITIA

Since 1852 Utah had been divided into military districts, most of them corresponding to the several counties of the Territory; and laws had been enacted for the further organization of the militia, still known as the Nauvoo Legion.

From this was created the office of Lieutenant General of the Nauvoo Legion. Daniel H. Wells was the first to hold that office.

In January, 1857, the Lieutenant General had been authorized to select six or more commissioned officers and with their assistance draft a

system of laws for the Legion, to continue in force until annulled by the Legislative Assembly.

In the spring of 1857 the Territory had been redistricted, and eight days after Governor Young learned of the coming of the army, General Wells issued instructions to the district commanders to be ready to march at short notice and to make all needful preparations for a winter campaign.

The Weber County military district was to include Weber and Summit counties and was to be organized by David Moore. It was organized the 25th of April, 1857. Chauncey W. West was elected Colonel of the fifth regiment of infantry and placed in command of the district, having received the commission from Governor B. Young, and March 2, 1858, was made a Brigadier General of the Nauvoo Legion.

"Since early in August, 1857, warlike preparations had been going forward and the militia were ready to take the field," and so after Colonel Robert T. Burton started on his tour of observation, a similar one was undertaken by a Company of the Weber County cavalry under Marcellus Monroe, aid-de-camp to Colonel West. This company numbered twelve men. They ascended Ogden Hole Canyon and passed over Bear Lake, Bear River and across the mountain passes in the north with a view to their future defense, should the government troops seek to force an entrance from that section.

Weber County men were among the first to be called to the defense of the settlers and on March 21, 1857, the fifth regiment from the Weber Military District under Colonel West were at headquarters of the Utah militia.

At Echo Canyon this regiment was among the best drilled and disciplined and was selected to head off Johnston's Army.

"By forced marches he and his men made such rapid progress and represented such an aggressive front to the enemy they returned to their former rendezvous and went into winter quarters.—*Isabella E. K. Wilson* (Whitney's History of Utah.)"

#### DAVID MCKAY

David McKay, father of President David O. McKay, came to Ogden with his parents in 1859, when he was fifteen years old.

At the age of eighteen he enlisted in the Utah Militia, and was assigned to the infantry.

In 1860, Father William McKay, while still retaining his home in Ogden, established a farming and cattle raising business in Huntsville, and David was responsible for much of the real work of the farm.

During those years, however, he did not neglect his training in the militia. If a horse was available, he rode the twelve miles through Ogden canyon, but if it were not, he would commence walking, hoping to be assisted on his journey by some infrequent wagon going in his direction. Sometimes, he walked the entire distance and in his own words, "felt none the worse for it."

He was advanced to captain of the Eden and Huntsville companies, and was later commissioned major under General Chauncey W. West, by the Governor of the Territory.

## Echo Canyon War

Utah was not quite seven years old when a serious misunderstanding arose between the people of the Territory of Utah and the government of the United States. It led to what is known as the "Echo Canyon War," and the coming of Johnston's army. In order that we may have a complete understanding of the conditions that led up to this war, it is necessary to recall the political history of Utah. In March, 1849, a provisional government was established which lasted until 1851. At this time Congress organized a Territory, named it Utah and set up a Territorial government here. In this kind of government the chief executives and judicial officers are appointed by the President of the United States and are often strangers to the people they must govern, and generally untrained for their work. Americans like a government where they can govern themselves, but the Utah pioneers showed their loyalty to their country by cheerfully and cordially accepting this legislation of Congress. In a resolution they included these words, "Resolved that we welcome the Constitution of the United States—the legacy of our fathers—over this territory." (See *Heart Throbs of the West*, page 31.)

Brigham Young was appointed Governor, but most of the judges were appointed from Washington. Among these was Associate Judge W. W. Drummond. He was a man of lax morals, a gambler and an enemy of the pioneers. In the fall of 1856, Judge Drummond left Salt Lake City and hastened to Washington. In his report to the President he charged the Mormons with having destroyed the supreme court records, that federal officers had been grossly insulted for questioning this act. He also intimated that the murder of Captain Gunnison, the death of Judge Shaver and the killing of Secretary Babbitt had been done with the advice of the leading authorities at Salt Lake City. Although these charges were denied by the people of Utah, they were accepted as true by the officers at Washington. This report added to stories told by their enemies in the east brought the Mormon question to a crisis. At this time there was a temporary lull on the subject of slavery and the officers in Washington used their leisure time to press the Mormon question.

Bancroft in his history says: "With the advice of his cabinet and yielding to the outcry of the Republican party, President Buchanan determined that Governor Young should be removed and that a force should be sent to Utah to sustain order and uphold the laws of the United States." Many historians maintain it was a political scheme to rid the east of 5000 of its best soldiers when they were needed at home. All parties knew that a war between the North and South was unavoidable, hence it is spoken of in history as Buchanan's Blunder. And so one of the best equipped armies in the United States and probably the best provisioned army was assembled at Fort Leavenworth, and in July, 1857, started its march to Utah. It was under the leadership of Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston for whom the detachment was named.

In Utah, the winter of 1856-57 was very severe. There had been no mail from the east which added to the anxiety of the Pioneers. But the spring and early summer of 1857 gave promise of good crops, therefore people were prosperous and happy. They determined to have a celebration commemorating their tenth anniversary in the valley. All had gathered in

Big Cottonwood Canyon, the Stars and Stripes floated from many a tree, hymns of praise were sung and all were having a good time. In the midst of their festivities came a swift messenger who had traveled 513 miles on horseback in five days. He was A. O. Smoot and he brought the startling announcement that an army of the United States was on its way to Utah. Immediately the festivities ended. Quoting from Charles Ellis, a non-Mormon writer who spent some time among our people: "In the sunshine of their present joy arose the blood-red vision of the past. Again they saw the angry populace pressing on them, saw their homes destroyed and themselves driven empty-handed into a world that gave them nothing but curses and blows." Governor Young quieted the people saying, "We have not transgressed the law, neither do we intend to do so, and as far as a nation coming to destroy this people, it shall not be."

### PROCLAMATION OF GOVERNOR BRIGHAM YOUNG

Citizens of Utah,—We are invaded by a hostile force, who are evidently assailing us to accomplish our overthrow and destruction. For the last twenty-five years we have trusted officials of the government, from constables and justices to judges, governors and presidents, only to be scorned, held in derision, insulted and betrayed. Our houses have been plundered and then burned, our fields laid waste, our principal men butchered while under the pledged faith of the government for their safety, and our families driven from their homes to find that shelter in the barren wilderness and that protection among hostile savages which were denied them in the boasted abodes of Christianity and civilization.

The constitution of our common country guarantees unto us all that we do now or have ever claimed. If the constitutional rights which pertain to us as American citizens were extended to Utah according to the spirit and meaning thereof, and fairly and impartially administered, it is all that we could ask—all that we have ever asked.

Our opponents have availed themselves of prejudice existing against us, because of our religious faith, to send out a formidable host to accomplish our destruction. We have had no privileges or opportunities of defending ourselves from the false, foul, and unjust aspersions against us before the nation. The government has not condescended to cause an investigating committee or other person to be sent to inquire into and ascertain the truth, as is customary in such cases. We know those aspersions to be false; but that avails us nothing. We are condemned unheard, and forced to an issue with an armed mercenary mob, which has been sent against us at the instigation of anonymous letter writers, ashamed to father the base, slanderous falsehoods which they have given to the public—of corrupt officials, who have brought false accusations against us to screen themselves in their own infamy, and of hireling priests and howling editors, who prostitute the truth for filthy lucre's sake.

The issue which has thus been forced upon us compels us to resort to the great first law of self preservation, and stand in our own defense—a right guaranteed unto us by the genius of the institutions of our country, and upon which the government is based. Our duty to ourselves, to our families, requires us not to tamely submit to be driven and slain without an attempt to preserve ourselves. Our duty to our country, our holy religion, our God, to freedom and liberty, requires that we should not quietly stand still and see those fetters forging around us which are calculated to



enslave and bring us in subjection to an unlawful military despotism, such as can only emanate, in a country of constitutional law, from usurpation, tyranny and oppression.

Therefore I, Brigham Young, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Territory of Utah, in the name of the people of the United States, in the Territory of Utah, forbid.

First—All armed forces of every description from coming into this Territory, under any pretense whatever.

Second—That all the forces in said Territory hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's notice to repel any and all such invasion.

Third—Martial law is hereby declared to exist in this Territory from and after the publication of this proclamation; and no person shall be allowed to pass or repass into, or through, or from this Territory, without a permit from the proper officer.

Given under my hand and seal at Great Salt Lake City, Territory of Utah, this fifteenth day of September, A.D., eighteen hundred and fifty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the eighty-second.—*Brigham Young.*

A pioneer defense was organized and a messenger was sent to Washington saying that an army could not enter Utah and if they did they would find only a desert.

Whitney in his history of Utah says: "The avowed object of the national authorities was to give the new governor and his fellow officers a military arm, to restore order, not to create chaos, to preserve peace and maintain order, not to impose upon them in any manner." But such was the tension of those trying times that Utah citizens could not be convinced that the expedition meant anything but evil. They had painful memories and it looked like a movement for their destruction. While holding back the army they hoped to acquaint the government with the true situation in Utah, praying for a peaceful and friendly adjustment of their differences. In September Governor Young proclaimed Utah under martial law and directed the militia under General Daniel H. Wells, to hold itself in readiness for call. It consisted of about six thousand men.

Captain Van Vliet of the United States Army arrived in Utah in September. After interviewing Governor Young and others, he was convinced that the people here were misunderstood. He returned to Washington where he used his influence in favor of the Territory.

In September General Wells with his staff left for Echo canyon where they made headquarters in a place called the Narrows. Here they determined to hold the army from entering the valley. The instructions to this army were, "If necessary burn the whole country before them, keep them from sleeping, blockade roads, destroy river fords, destroy their trains, stampede their cattle, but take no life." Let us add here that no blood was shed in this war.

The vanguard of Johnston's army entered eastern Utah at Hams Fork near Green River in late September. General Wells tried to persuade them to leave the Territory. They refused, saying they had their orders from Washington. Soon after Lot Smith and others of the Utah militia, burned their supply wagons after they had refused to turn them around and go back. In November Colonel Johnston arrived at Fort Bridger. But here they found the Fort partially destroyed as the Utah militia had set fire to

it. Using the remaining buildings for supply houses, the army proceeded to build Camp Scott. Here the army spent the winter. They suffered from the cold and for lack of sufficient clothes and food. Governor Young, hearing they were without salt sent a load with his compliments. General Johnston refused to take it but the salt was left outside the fort and used by the common soldier. About December 5 the Utah State Militia went to their homes, leaving a patrol of fifty men under the leadership of Captain John R. Winder.

Colonel Kane, a friend of the Mormon pioneers, hearing the trouble, proceeded to Washington and offered his services as a mediator between the Central Government and the Territory. Although in feeble health he came to Utah, arriving here on the 25th of February. His was a delicate mission. As an envoy of the United States government and the friend of the Pioneers, he wanted to please both sides. He explained his mission to the leading men of the Territory and listened to their story. Conclusions were reached; Colonel Kane left for Camp Scott. Here he met the newly appointed Governor, Alfred Cummings, and reported to him that he would be received in Utah if he would come without the army. Governor Cummings agreed to accompany Colonel Kane although his army officers advised against it. He was well received by the people and after a thorough investigation found the court records in excellent condition and that the people were not against the government. He immediately sent his report to Congress giving a favorable report of the territory.

To A. S. Johnston, Colonel of Cavalry, commanding Army of Utah, Fort Scott, Utah, from Governor Cummings:

"The note omits to state that I met parties of armed men at Lost and Yellow Creeks, as well as at Echo Canyon. At every point, however, I am recognized as the Governor of Utah, and received with a military salute. When it was arranged with the Mormon officer in command of my escort that I should pass through Echo Canyon at night, I inferred that it was the object of concealing the barricades and other defenses. I was therefore agreeably surprised by an illumination in honor to me. The bonfires kindled by the soldiers from the base to the summits of the walls of the canyons completely illuminated the valley and disclosed the snow-covered mountains which surrounded us. When I arrived at the next station, I found the 'Emigrant Road' over the 'Big Mountain' still impassable. I was able to make my way, however, down 'Weber Canyon.'

"Since my arrival, I have been employed in examining the records of the Supreme and District Courts, which I am now prepared to report as being perfect and unimpaired. This will, doubtless, be acceptable information to those who have entertained an impression to the contrary.

"I have also examined the Legislative Records and other books belonging to the office of Secretary of State, which are in perfect preservation. The Property Return, though not made up in proper form, exhibits the public property for which W. H. Hooper, late Secretary of State, is responsible. It is, in part, the same for which the estate of A. W. Babbitt is liable, that individual having died whilst in the office of Secretary of State for Utah.

"I believe that the books and charts, stationery, and other property appertaining to the Surveyor-General's Office will, upon examination, be found in the proper place, except some instruments, which are supposed to have been disposed of by a person who was temporarily in charge of

the office. I examined the property, but cannot verify the matter, in consequence of not having at my command a schedule or Property Return.

"The condition of the large and valuable Territorial Library has also commanded my attention; and I am pleased in being able to report that Mr. W. C. Staines, the Librarian, has kept the books and records in most excellent condition. I will, at an early day, transmit a catalogue of this library, and schedules of the other public property, with certified copies of the records of the Supreme and District Courts, exhibiting the character and amount of the public business last transacted in them. . . .

"A Cummings,

"Governor of Utah Territory."

Great Salt Lake City,  
May 10, 1858.

Elder Thomas Williams.

Dear Brother,—

You have heard, ere this, that Colonel Thomas L. Kane paid us a visit. He came here via California. He was very sick on his arrival, remained with us about ten days, then proceeded to visit the United States troops at Fort Bridger. Some of our boys took him within about ten or twelve miles of the Fort, then watched him safe to Camp. After laboring from two to three weeks, he succeeded in inducing Governor Cummings to consent to accompany him to G. S. L. City. Accordingly, on the 5th of April, they left Bridger with two carriages, and each a servant. They traveled about fifteen miles, upset one of the carriages in the snow, and there stuck for the night. It so happened that W. H. Kimball, E. Hanks, O. P. Rockwell, Howard Egan, and myself, with a few other good boys, were out scouting in that vicinity; and on the morning of the 6th of April, we took the Governor and his small party under our protection, and brought them safe to this place. It is one month today since we brought them into this city. I have been with them on a tour as far south as Spanish Fork, and returned here last Friday. The Governor has looked over the Records of the Supreme Court, and also the Library, found all correct, and, of course, will contradict the reports which have gone abroad.

Tomorrow, I expect to go into the mountains with the Governor and his party. Howard Egan and five other of our brethren will accompany Colonel Kane to the States. The rest of us will leave them at or near Bridger.

The United States troops are expected to be in here on the first of June; but that will be if the Lord will. For over a month, the Saints have been very busy moving south with their provisions and livestock. There are not a great many families in this city. The brethren from the north and Tooele have left. Yesterday, I sent off thirty-five hundred of flour and wheat, also two of my wives, Susan and Ellen, with their children; and in a short time we shall have everybody out of this. Then if we cannot do better, we shall cut down our fruit trees, set fire to our houses, and move on slowly towards Sonora, although I believe the nearest way is to proceed via Jackson County, Mo. However, we can go any way we please; we have now the Territory on wheels. . . .

John Kay.

In the meantime the pioneers had deserted their homes, fearful of the

effect of the army. The new Governor in his report to Washington said "Roads everywhere are filled with wagons loaded with provisions and household goods, the women and children walking, oftentimes barefooted and hatless, driving their flocks, they know not where."

Following this favorable report to Washington a Peace Commission arrived in Salt Lake City. They too saw the earnestness of the Mormon Pioneers who only asked to be allowed to live in peace. After a conference with all concerned an agreement was reached to allow the army to pass through Salt Lake City if they would not molest the property of the people. When they arrived the city was deserted. Thirty thousand pioneers had left their homes, leaving only a few men with instruction to apply the torch if they should be occupied by the troops. The army after camping on the banks of the Jordan River for two days moved to Cedar Valley where they established Camp Floyd.

Meanwhile the pioneers were quietly living in or near Provo and other settlements further south. President Young returned to Salt Lake City where further peace negotiations were made. In July the majority of the pioneers returned to their homes. Some of these who did not return at this time built new homes and established themselves permanently in the town in which they had found shelter.

The army remained in Utah two years and proved to be a benefit in many ways to the pioneers. The founding and building of Camp Floyd furnished employment to many men as well as providing a market for the surplus products of their farms. There was some friction between civilians and soldiers and between civil and military authority, but it gradually died away and pleasant relations existed.

From a sketch of the life of George Harrison of Springville, known as "Beef Steak Harrison": "George Harrison was one of the handcart boys who because of hunger left the Handcart Company and joined a tribe of Indians. Later he went to Fort Laramie, where he hired out as a cook for Johnston's army. During the spring of 1858 he came to Utah. He said that Salt Lake was as still as a cemetery when they marched in. He saw only two people, a man riding a sorrel mule and an old lady who peeped out of a window blind at the troops. But he adds that the army kept faith with the pioneers and built Camp Floyd, where they remained for two years. However, Mr. Harrison did not return with the army but remained in Utah, settling in Springville where for many years he managed the Harrison Hotel and became well known in Utah, especially for his famous beef steaks. He had a splendid memory and recalled the days when Col. Albert Sidney Johnston left Camp Floyd in an ambulance wagon going to California. Later Johnston joined the Confederate army and was killed in battle.

Camp Floyd was built near what is now known as Fairfield in Cedar Valley. In those days it was a scene of great activity, several thousand soldiers being quartered there. The soldier camps were spread over the sagebrush flats. It was a typical military post with its barracks, officers' quarters, stables, guard houses and parade grounds. Trading posts, mail stations and dwellings were built near by. Into the camp ox trains of the various freighting companies were constantly coming with supplies. Every day the overland stages would stop and deliver a passenger or two. It was a resting place for the pony express rider. Bancroft places the value of the camp at four million dollars. In 1860 most of the troops were re-



moved to Mexico. War between the North and South being almost a certainty, the remainder of the army was ordered to the eastern states. The selling of the government stores of Camp Floyd at extremely low prices brought relief to the pioneers. Flour which cost the government over five hundred dollars a ton sold at eleven dollars per ton, and other articles in the same proportion. It proved to be a time when the pioneers could purchase provisions, clothing, wagons, livestock and other articles at their own rates.

But just before they broke camp, the soldiers blew up their arsenal, sunk their cannon in the springs and made a huge bonfire and threw the guns they could not take with them into it.

### THE EXPEDITION TO MEET JOHNSTON'S ARMY

*By Captain John Bennion*

At sundown on Saturday, September 26, 1857, while on my way home from the carding machine, Adjutant Cutler handed me the following notice:

#### HEADQUARTERS 2ND BRIGADE, 1ST DIVISION NAUVOO LEGION

Salt Lake City, Sept. 26, 1857

"Capt. J. Bennion,

Sir:

You are hereby required to appear at the headquarters of the Brigade on the 27th Inst., at 6 o'clock A.M., mounted, armed and equipped with five days rations, to take command of the detachment from the 2nd Brigade and there await further orders.

F. D. Richards,  
Brig. Gen'l. Commanding 2nd Brigade."

My brother Samuel also received notice to be the Adjutant of the detachment. We spent the night getting ready and at sunrise we were on our way to headquarters as ordered, where we found sixty mounted men and five baggage wagons. I was handed the following letter of instructions:

Fourteenth Ward, Salt Lake City  
Sept. 27, 1857

"Captain John Bennion:

You are instructed to march the Company under your command, with all reasonable speed, and join the command of Col. Cummings and Burton, which is supposed to be in the vicinity of Green River.

Although you are required to permit no needless delay, you will observe caution and not permit your animals to be overtaxed by which they might be unfitted for any future service. Be always on your guard that you may never be surprised and hold yourself and men subject to the orders of Colonels Cummings and Burton, who have charge of the present expedition.

May the God of Armies qualify you abundantly for the duty now imposed upon you.

F. D. Richards,  
Brig. Gen. Com. 2nd Brigade."

We camped the first night at the foot of Big Mountain and put out a guard. At about 3 o'clock A.M., an express came into camp with verbal

orders to leave baggage wagons and take on our horses one blanket and rations to do us to Bridger and hasten there with all speed, as the U. S. troops were coming toward the city.

28th

We moved on East Canyon and suppered on the Weber where we met Captain Milo Andrus with his Ten. We marched up Echo Canyon and camped about 1 o'clock A.M. Express by Bro. Henefer called in camp and said the soldiers would be at or near Bridger that night and that he had word to us to hasten.

29th

General Wells and staff passed us and we camped near him that night on Bear River.

30th

Continued our march and arrived at Bridger at sundown, all the men and animals in good order and ready for duty. We had attended to prayers twice a day, calling upon the captains of Tens in turn, except Rufus Forbush who was not a member of the Church, but a good officer.

October 1st

My command was detailed to guard Fort Bridger where the General was quartered. At sundown Col. Burton's command marched into the Fort and formed a square, we with them, being about 200 cavalry. Gen'l Wells, Elders G. A. Smith and John Taylor addressed the regiment. Afterwards Gen'l Wells prayed for and sealed the blessings of the Almighty upon the armies of Israel by virtue of the Holy Priesthood vested in him. After dissolving the square 20 men detailed from my company and marched forthwith to Big Bend on Black's Fork, eighteen miles, to watch the U. S. troops.

2nd

Still kept up the guard at the Fort and ten good horsemen and the best horses were selected from my company to join and serve in Major Lot Smith's Company and I, with fifteen men were joined to the Lancers under Major McAllister and marched east to Black's Fork and joined the 20 already there.

3rd

Marched six miles east to good camp ground and at 6 P.M., I was ordered out with my Ten and piloted near to the soldiers camp by Bro. Scott, relieving Lieut. Pugh. I was instructed to watch the troops through the night and get all possible information.

4th

At daybreak, after warming by a small fire, we rode to a bluff and watched the camp. A soldier came upon us and we bid him "Good Morning" 50 yards distant. We now moved away and when about three hundred yards off a ball from his gun came whizzing past us. When about two miles away two mounted men overtook us unawares and asked us many questions about what we were after. We kept riding on and answered them short and indirect. We soon joined our comrades and about noon Captain O. P. Rockwell came and relieved us to return to Col. Burton's camp and report to him.

The next three days were cold and stormy but we were all busy, night and day, moving from place to place, watching the movements of the

troops and all travelers, and on the 8th I was again detailed with six others, John Clawson, Claudius V. Spencer, A. Hardy, A. Williams, G. Wilson and W. S. Godbe, to go down Ham's Fork to the U. S. Troops camp and watch their movements. We camped in the willows. I told the boys to lie down and sleep while I watched through the night, cold and stormy.

We continued on duty until Saturday the 10th when I sent four of the men back to headquarters, Bro. Godbe and myself remaining on duty. On the morning of the 11th we started toward the troops and saw two men coming toward us. When about 300 yards away I saw the epaulets on their shoulders and knew they were army officers. They rode up the steep hill in a gentlemanly manner, bid us good morning, talked about the weather, made inquiries about the winter setting in, and then one of them said, "I advise you gentlemen not to be too free in gratifying your curiosity." Bro. Godbe said, "Why?" He said, "There is no danger from the troops if you do not interfere with them, but there are men here who have been driven from Salt Lake whom we cannot control."

Bro. Godbe said he wished they were all of that class and one of the men quickly asked why. Bro. Godbe gave him to understand that they were of bad character and would meet their just dues when they came in. The officer replied to the effect that this was U. S. territory and that the Government had the right to send troops here, that the destruction of public property was treason, and that assuredly everyone engaged in it would be hung. He also said that the troops would be moving up to Fort Bridger in a few days.

With the close of this conversation we returned to headquarters and found that Col. Burton's command had begun its march homeward. We followed and overtook them in Echo Canyon after several days travel in snow and mud and with but little food and no bedding, being under the necessity of burning sagebrush and then lying down in the ashes.

At the mouth of Echo Canyon I was detailed with my brother Samuel to remain on guard duty for two weeks, after which I was released to return to my home and family.—*Harden Bennion.*

#### COLONEL KANE, FRIEND

When I was about fifteen years old, Pres. Brigham Young brought Col. Kane down one winter as his guest. Mother moved with her family into the basement of the Big House and gave her home to the distinguished gentleman. He had brought his wife and two children and a negro cook to serve them. A local girl was hired to do the dish washing. The negro was taken ill soon after they arrived and had to be sent home. (He could not have been of much service to them under pioneer conditions, anyway, as we found him one day trying to chop dried apples in a chopping bowl before they had been soaked or cooked.) Mother was asked to serve in the capacity of cook, and Libbie, then about 17 years of age was taken out of school to act as waitress and maid. She must have given great satisfaction to her employers as when he was leaving Col. Kane gave her \$50, a magnificent sum in the days when heads of families would go the twelve-month cycle and never see so much as a 50-cent piece. Libbie went right out and handed it to father who was just leaving for a mission in the usual penniless state. He took part of it with gratitude and left her \$15 for her very own. With this mother purchased her a Swiss muslin dress which she made

by hand. The skirt was gathered full at the waist and tucked from hem to waist with graduated tucks, it measured yards and yards around the bottom. Over this she wore a pink silk ruffled cape that was presented to father by some of the saints in St. Louis and which he sent to Libbie. She wore this draped over the skirt as a polonaise. It is no wonder she turned the heads of the young men for she was lovely in it.

In thinking of this most favored of guests I always think of him and Mrs. Kane walking arm in arm up and down the long veranda, in the early morning or towards evening, talking and talking, and have always imagined that they were discussing the Mormon people and their almost superhuman problems that they were meeting and solving so heroically. Our people can never be grateful enough to this good man for his help in times of greatest need. In his remembrance and honor the extreme southern county of the middle tier of the state was named for him.

Col. Kane and mother became very well acquainted and great friends through this association. At this time Mother's baby Clarence was very ill of pneumonia and she would sit at night before the fireplace administering to him. Col. Kane would come out of his apartment and listen to the child's heart beat, take his pulse count and consult and advise with her as to what should be done for the little one. He said to her once: "Mrs. Snow, if this child lives I want him to visit me at my home in Philadelphia." But this request could not be granted for Col. Kane died soon after returning to his home. The baby, however, did recover and lived to become one of the prominent physicians of the state.—*Mrs. Elizabeth W. Jensen.*

#### THE MORMON BATTALION

"If you will assist us in this crisis, I hereby pledge my honor, as a representative of this people, that the whole body will stand ready at your call, and act as one man in the land to which we are going, and should our territory be invaded we will hold ourselves ready to enter the field of battle, and then like our patriotic fathers, make the battlefield our grave, or gain our liberty."

Such was the pledge made to President Polk by Jesse Little, representative of the Mormon pioneers, when he interceded with the government of United States for aid in their emigration to the Great Basin beyond the Rocky Mountains. Partly in response to the petition and also to test the loyalty of the Saints, Secretary Marcy issued an order to Captain Stephen F. Kearney to muster into service from the Mormon ranks, "Such as can be induced to volunteer, not however to a number exceeding one third of your entire force." Nearly five hundred men answered the call of their country to serve twelve months in the war with Mexico. They were to unite with the army of the West at Santa Fe and march to California. (See chapter on Women of the Mormon Battalion.)

#### THE MARCH OF THE BATTALION

To return to the account of the Battalion, on July 16, the muster roll was complete. It included fifteen commissioned officers and four hundred eighty-eight non-commissioned officers and privates. Several families of women and children accompanied their husbands and fathers in the Battalion, and these with the officers' servants, brought the full number up to five hundred forty-nine.

The march began July 20, 1846. The company went directly down



the Missouri River, a distance of 180 miles, to Fort Leavenworth. At that post, on August 3, 4 and 5, they drew their arms, consisting of United States flint lock muskets, with a few cap-lock yaugers for sharpshooting and hunting purposes, also the clothing money.

At Fort Leavenworth, Captain Allen became seriously ill and the command was entrusted to Jefferson Hunt, senior captain of the Battalion. Captain Allen died August 23 and, to the dissatisfaction of the men, Lieutenant A. J. Smith was authorized by Major Horton at Fort Leavenworth to assume command. With Lieut. Smith, came George Sanderson in the capacity of company physician.

On August 12, Companies A, B and C began the march from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe, Companies D and E following on August 14. On the fifteenth the advance companies crossed the Kansas River, which was about three hundred yards in width. In the evening they reached Spring Creek where they remained two days. On the 17th they arrived at Stone Coal Creek, from which point the route continued to Council Grove, up the Arkansas to Fort Mann, across the Arkansas along the "Cimmaron Route," across Cimmaron River, and thence up Cimmaron Creek. The last crossing of the Arkansas was reached September 16. At this point Captain Higgins with a guard of ten men was detailed to take a number of families that had accompanied the Battalion, to Pueblo, a Mexican town on the Arkansas, to winter. The Battalion marched from here southwestward to San Miguel, thence north-westward to Santa Fe, arriving October 12. A force of one hundred picked men, including Lieutenant Smith and Dr. Sanderson, had been sent on ahead, and arrived there three days earlier, on the ninth.

At Santa Fe, Colonel P. St. George Cooke assumed command and Lieutenant Smith was retained as quartermaster sergeant. In his official report on the condition of the Battalion, the Colonel says: "Everything conspires to discourage the extraordinary undertaking of marching this Battalion eleven hundred miles, the greater part through an unknown wilderness, without road or trail and with a wagon train. It was enlisted too much by families; some were too old and feeble, and some too young; it was embarrassed by many women, it was undisciplined; it was much worn by traveling on foot, and marching from Nauvoo, Illinois; their clothing was very scant; there was no money to pay them or clothing to issue, their mules were utterly broken down; the quartermaster department was without funds, and its credit bad; and animals scarce. Those produced were inferior and were deteriorating every hour for lack of forage and grazing." Because of the conditions described, Captain Brown of Company C and Sergeant Elam Luddington of Company B, were selected to go to Pueblo with the invalided women and children. This left but five women, the wives of officers, in the company. On November 10, fifty-five more sick men under Lieutenant Willis followed Captain Brown. The march from Santa Fe began October 19. The route continued southward down the valley of the Rio Grande. "We found the roads extremely sandy in places," says Tyler, "and the men, while carrying blankets, knap sacks, cartridge boxes and muskets on their backs and living on short rations, had to pull at long ropes to aid the teams. The deep sand, alone, without any load, was enough to wear out both man and beast."

At a point two hundred and twenty-eight miles directly south, it was decided to abandon temporarily the Gila route for the one south through

Sonora by way of Janos and Fronteras. The troops continued southeast for two miles when the colonel, surveying the situation, remarked: "I don't want to get under General Wool and lose my trip to California. This is not my course. I was ordered to California, and (adding in oath), I will go there or die in the attempt." Then turning to the bugler, he shouted, "Blow the right."

One of the most vital problems of the march was that of food supply. By this time the situation was becoming most critical, as is evidenced from the diary of Henry Bigler, one of the privates: "The sheep and cattle that had been driven along as beef and mutton for the army had become so poor that when eight ounces was dealt out to the soldiers, it was not half as nutritious as four ounces would be of good meat, and this, too, without salt to season it. It had become a common thing to eat head, heels, hide and tripe and even the wool was pulled off from the sheep skins that had been used under the pack saddles and the thin hide roasted and eaten.

Turning west, thirty miles north of El Paso, the course of march was directed toward the San Pedro River, which was reached December 9. Here occurred the famous Battle of the Bulls, the only occasion for the use of arms in defense during the entire expedition. Continuing northeast, the Battalion, on December 16, reached Tucson, a Mexican town of about five hundred inhabitants. It was protected by Captain Comaduran who was under orders from Don Manuel Gandara, Governor of Sonora, not to allow an armed force to pass through the town without resistance. If a detour was made, it meant an additional one hundred miles through an extremely rough country. Colonel Cooke determined to march through the town. After some little difficulty with the Mexican officials, the troops were finally allowed to proceed, and they encamped one half mile beyond the banks of a small stream. No private or public property was molested, although previous to their arrival, the entire garrison, with the exception of a very few, had fled.

Renewing the journey, the command in the course of three days reached the Gila River and intersected the route followed by General Kearney, four hundred seventy-four miles from the point at which they had left it in the valley of the Rio Grande. Following more or less the windings of the Gila, the Battalion reached its junction with the Colorado on January 8. "This is a vast bottom," says Cooke, "the country about the two rivers is a picture of desolation: nothing like vegetation beyond the alluvium of the two rivers; bleak, wild looking peaks, stony hills and plains fill the view. We are encamped in the midst of wild hemp. The mules are in mesquite thickets with a little bunch grass, a half mile off. The river is deeper than usual. It is wider than the Missouri and of the same muddy color. It is said to be sixty miles to its mouth."

The course led from thence across the Colorado Desert of Southern California between the Colorado River and the eastern base of the Coast Range. Water could be obtained only by digging deep wells. The five days march across the desert to Carriso Creek was the most trying of the entire trip. "We here found the heaviest sand, hottest days and coldest nights with no water and but little food," says Tyler. "At this time the men nearly barefooted; some used instead of shoes, rawhide wrapped around their feet, while others improvised a novel style of boots by stripping the skin from the leg of an ox. To do this, a ring was cut around the hide above and below the gambrel joint, and then the skin taken off without cutting

it lengthwise. After this, the lower end was sewed up with sinews, when it was ready for the wearer, the natural crook of the hide adapting it somewhat to the shape of the foot. Others wrapped their feet to shield them from the burning sand during the day and the cold at night." Says Colonel Cooke: "Without water for near three days for the working animals, and camping two nights in succession without water, the Battalion made in forty-eight hours, four marches of eighteen, eight, eleven and fifteen miles, suffering from frost and from the summer heat.

From Carriso Creek, encountering the rugged heart of the Coast Range, the Battalion marched to San Felipe, an Indian village on a small stream of the same name. In some places it was necessary to convey the wagons over the steep incline by means of ropes and where the trail was too narrow, as was sometimes the case, to take the wagons apart and carry them over piece by piece. Warner's ranch was reached on January 21. Another march of thirty miles brought them to Temecula Valley. It was at first advised to march to Los Angeles, but on January 26, an official dispatch brought Colonel Cooke the announcement that General Kearney had returned to San Diego and that the Battalion was expected there. The San Luis Rey Valley and River was crossed January 26, and at noon on January 27, the Company passed the deserted San Luis Rey Mission. Here the Pacific Ocean could be seen. "One mile below the mission," says Tyler, "we ascended the bluff when the long looked-for Pacific Ocean appeared to our view, only about three miles distant. The joy, the cheer that filled our souls, none but worn-out Pilgrims, nearing a haven of rest can imagine. Prior to leaving Nauvoo, we had talked about and sung of the 'Great Pacific Sea' and we were upon its very borders, and its beauties far exceeded our expectations." From here the Battalion continued the march down the coast through Soledad Valley to San Diego which was reached January 29, 1847. They camped a mile below the old mission building and four or five miles from the seaport.

On January 31, an order was issued to return to San Luis Rey Mission and accordingly the Battalion left San Diego, February 1, and arrived at the destination, February 3. On February 15, Company B was sent back to San Diego, while Companies A, C, and D, and E were dispatched to Los Angeles to maintain an outpost at Cajon Pass, fifty miles east of that town, as a protection against hostile Indians. Thirty privates under the command of Lieutenant Orman and Sergeant Brown formed a guard for the Mission of San Luis Rey until April 6th, when they joined forces at Los Angeles.

With the exception of eighty-one officers and men, who re-enlisted and performed garrison service at San Diego, the rest of the Battalion, numbering two hundred forty, on being mustered out of service, July 16, 1847, began their march for the Great Basin by way of Sutter's Fort, near Sacramento. Part of the men left New Helvetia on August 27, the rest leaving a day or two later to follow Kearney's trail over the Sierras. On September 5, the Mormons were at the scene of the Donner disaster, where many fragments of human bodies were found unburied. On the following day they met Samuel Brannan, returning from a visit with Brigham Young at Green River Crossing. He painted a dreary picture of the New Zion in the Rocky Mountains and urged all, except those having families, to return and work until spring. The next day, the volunteers met Captain Brown of the Pueblo detachment, who stated that President Young urged

those who had no means of subsistence, to work until spring. Accordingly about half of the company returned to Sutter's Fort. Those who continued arrived at Salt Lake October 16, 1847, thirty-two of that number after a rest of two days joining their people at Winter Quarters on the Missouri River, December 18, 1847. The Sutter contingent arrived September 28, 1848. The re-enlisted men remained at San Diego for eight months, being discharged from service in March, 1848. Most of them returned to Utah by way of Los Angeles and the southern route, arriving in Salt Lake Valley, June 5, 1848.

Thus was completed the march of the Mormon Battalion, a circuit of two thousand thirty miles from Council Bluffs. According to Colonel Cooke's report, the eleven hundred twenty-five miles from Santa Fe to San Diego was accomplished in one hundred two days, on fourteen of which no march was made, making the average day slightly less than thirteen miles. Such a record has seldom been equaled.

### ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE BATTALION

This narrative would not be complete without summarizing the outstanding achievements of the Battalion. (1) It assisted in the conquest of the West. It is true that the conquest of California had been accomplished before the Battalion had arrived. Nevertheless, the presence of Battalion men in New Mexico and Southern California, without doubt, strengthened the American position there. In performing important garrison service at San Diego, San Luis Rey and Los Angeles, they at least kept those posts secure.

(2) The Battalion blazed the way for future conquest. The building of roads and the digging of wells rendered the country more accessible to travelers. Upon their return march, members of the Battalion pioneered the wagon road through Cajon Pass northeast to Salt Lake Valley, a distance of over five hundred miles. Subsequently, over this trail heretofore only traversed by packers, the Salt Lake and Los Angeles Railroad was built. The ascent of the Sierras from the western side was conquered by members of the Battalion, returning from Sutter's Fort. They hewed a roadway for their wagons over stony heights and down deep declivities and narrow gorges, until the eastern sloping desert was reached. These blazed trails did much to lighten the difficulties of future pioneers.

(3) The route of the Battalion through southern New Mexico and Arizona did much to advance the purchase of the territory south of the Gila River, which was effected in order that a suitable right-of-way for a railroad to the Pacific might be secured. On this subject, Colonel Cooke reports: "A new administration (this was the Pierce administration—1853-1857) in which southern interests prevailed, in the great problem of the practicability and best location of a Pacific railroad under investigation, had the map of this wagon route before them with its continuance to the west, and perceived that it gave exactly the solution of the unknown element, that a southern route would avoid both the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevadas, with their snows, and would meet no obstacle in this great interval. The Gadsden treaty, signed December 30, 1850, was the result.

(4) Members of the Battalion participated in the discovery of gold in California, an event of importance not to California alone but for the nation as a whole. Nine of the twelve men who were with Marshall in the



Coloma Valley, constructing a sawmill at the time gold was discovered January 24, 1848, had belonged to the Battalion. "Mormon Island" and the rich "Mormon Diggins" on the American River between Sutter's Fort and the mill became famous. These finds were discovered by Wilford Hudson and Sidney Willis, also of the Battalion.

(5) The Battalion benefited the Mormons industrially and economically. Mention has already been made of the money returned to the Saints on the Missouri and the purchase of the Goodyear tract near Ogden with part of the funds of the Pueblo detachment. In addition new varieties of seeds and grains were introduced; James Pace brought the club-head wheat, Daniel Tyler the California pea. The Pueblo detachment brought with them the variety of wheat known as the "taos" which, mixed with club-head, became for many years the staple seed wheat sown in Utah.

(6) Most important of all, however, as already noted, the Battalion dispelled, at least temporarily, most of the prejudice against the Saints, and vindicated beyond question the loyalty of that sect toward the government.

*(Utah and the Nation by Creer.)*

### ACTIVITIES OF THE MORMON BATTALION NEAR SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

When the Mormon Battalion arrived in Mission Valley, January 29, 1847, they completed what has been acknowledged to have been the long-march of infantry in the history of the world.

There are five sites in San Diego County where this battalion of men made history.

- (1) Boxelder Canyon at the edge of the Colorado Desert.
- (2) Mission San Luis Rey where they arrived January 27, 1847.
- (3) Mission San Diego de Alcalá where they made their first permanent camp.
- (4) Presidio Park where they were stationed for nearly two years.
- (5) The so-called "Mormon Well"—a coal mine dug by the Mormons in 1855-57.

At Box Canyon the members of the Battalion encountered one of the most difficult problems of their march, getting their wagons through a narrow trail. These were the first wagons brought into this country by the southern route. Of this event Daniel Tyler writes:

"As we traveled up the dry bed, the chasm became more contracted until we found ourselves in a passage at least a foot narrower than the wagons. Nearly all of our road tools, such as picks, shovels, spades, etc., had been lost in the boat disaster. The principal ones remaining were a few axes, which the pioneers were using at the time the boat was launched, a small crowbar and perhaps a spade or two. These were brought into requisition, the commander taking the ax and assisting the pioneers. Considerable was done before the wagons arrived. One of the wagons was taken to pieces and carried over, about one hour before sunset. Then the passage was hewn out and the remaining wagons got through. . . .

"Both men and teams were now exhausted and the water we had expected to reach early in the afternoon was at least seven or eight miles farther on. . . ."

On the way to San Luis Rey Mission the battalion met some Indians

who had been involved in a massacre of Californians a few days earlier. They begged Colonel Cooke to allow them to march with the battalion "that they might bury their dead on the way." This was permitted them. Of the trials of the battalion in the neighborhood of this mission Sergeant Tyler writes:

"We had some difficulty in crossing the San Luis Rey River owing to the quicksand. We saw in that section many thousand head of cattle and horses. . . . On the 26th our rations were increased to five pounds of beef per day . . . five pounds is only a half ration compared with what was issued to Fremont's battalion, when without other food than beef, as in that case each man 'consumed an average of ten pounds a day of fat beef. . . .' Traveling down the river, on the 27th, we arrived at San Luis Rey, a deserted Catholic mission, about noon. One mile below the mission, we ascended a bluff, when the long, long looked-for great Pacific Ocean appeared plain to our view, only about three miles distant. The joy, the cheer that filled our souls, none but wornout pilgrims nearing a haven of rest can imagine. Prior to leaving Nauvoo, we had talked about and sung of 'the great Pacific sea,' and we were now upon its very borders, and its beauty far exceeded our most sanguine expectations. The next thought was where . . . were our fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, wives and children. . . . We trusted in God that they were in the land of the living somewhere, and hoped we might find them on our return in or near the valley of Great Salt Lake, within the limits of California, then a Mexican state. . . . An express from General Kearney directed that we take quarters in a Catholic mission, five miles from San Diego."

Twenty-seven men of the company under Captain Daniel C. Davis were ordered on August 4, 1847, by Colonel J. D. Stevenson to be posted at Mission San Luis Rey, together with one sergeant and one corporal, under the command of Lieutenant Barrus, to "take charge of and prevent any depredations being committed upon the Mission property." In July that year Governor Mason established an Indian sub-agency for the Indians of Southern California, naming Captain J. D. Hunter of the battalion as sub-agent with headquarters at Mission San Luis Rey. Colonel Stevenson's letter to Captain Hunter is dated August 1, 1847, and reads:

"Sir: I enclose to you herewith the appointment as sub-Indian agent for the lower district of Upper California, and more especially for the district of the country in and about the Mission of San Luis Rey. This appointment invests you with a wide range of discretionary powers, and Colonel Mason wishes to impress upon you the great importance of your office, and the great good that will result to the people of that district from a prudent and mild, yet determined, course of conduct.

"You will establish yourself at or near the Mission of San Luis Rey, and at the earliest moment practicable make a correct inventory of property belonging to that Mission—such as farms, horses, cattle, and every species of property; a copy of which inventory you will send to headquarters.

"You will then consider yourself the agent for that property, so as to effectually guard it from abuse or destruction, and more especially to see that no damage or desecration is offered to the church or any other religious fixture.

"You will take a protective charge of all the Indians living at the Mission, and in the neighborhood, to draw them gradually to habits of

order. You will likewise endeavor to reclaim such as formerly belonged to the Mission, and persuade them to return, to restore it to its former prosperity. To do this, you can maintain them and their families at the Mission, but in no event contract a debt, or go beyond the resources of the property of which you have charge.

"You will make such rules for the government of the Indians as you deem suitable for their condition, so as to prevent their committing any depredations upon others, or leading an idle, thriftless life. You will endeavor to prevent their going about in crowds, and make them receive from yourself a written paper when they desire to go any distance from their houses or ranches, setting forth that they are under your protection, etc. Much, however, is left to your own good sense and judgment to reclaim the old Mission Indians to habits of industry, and, if possible, to draw in the wild ones, too, and protect them in their lives and true interest, and to prevent them from encroaching in any way upon the peaceable inhabitants of the land.

"Frequent communication upon all subjects of interest is requested, both to the commanding officer at Los Angeles and to these headquarters. A small force will probably be sent to assist you in maintaining your authority. Your salary will be seven hundred and fifty dollars a year, payable quarterly to yourself by the quartermaster at Los Angeles. . . ."

The battalion which had encamped at Mission San Diego received orders on January 31, 1847, to return to San Luis Rey, as "they could there keep an important position between Pueblo de Los Angeles and San Diego, out of the enemy's hands, in case hostilities were again resumed. . . ." Company B returned to San Diego, February 15, 1847.

The members of Company B so endeared themselves to the Spanish settlers in San Diego that when their period of enlistment had come to an end every man in the little place signed a petition to have them, or other Mormon soldiers, assigned for another year to this post. Presidio Park was their headquarters during those many months when—during their free times—they dug wells, burned bricks, laid sidewalks, whitewashed the adobe houses and outbuildings and generally put the little Pueblo in good order. An interesting comment on this period is made by Sergeant Tyler:

"Religious services were held by the detachment every Sunday, which were generally well attended by strangers, and Lieutenant William Hyde and others delivered a number of excellent discourses and lectures, which gave general satisfaction to all parties. A society was also organized, entitled the Young Men's Club, for the purpose of lecturing, reciting, debating, etc., a kind of Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association."

This is particularly significant, it would appear, as nearly all the inhabitants of San Diego and vicinity were members of the Catholic Church. Gold had not yet been discovered in California and the great influx of "Yankees" had not yet set in. This Young Men's Club was without doubt the very first of the cultural groups established in San Diego County.

While Company B was stationed here the first celebration of the Fourth of July took place in the plaza of Old San Diego. The events leading up to and characterizing this event are told by Sergeant Tyler: "On the 22nd (June) Colonel Stevenson arrived from Los Angeles and the following day addressed the company. He spoke in the highest terms of the industry and morals of the Battalion and of their good reputation among

the Californians, and expressed a great desire to have the men re-enlist, especially the young ones."

"On the 29th H. W. Bigler and others cleared the first yard for molding brick in San Diego, and indeed, the first in California. The labor was performed for a Californian, named Bandini. Philander Colton and Rufus Stoddard laid up and burned the kiln. . . ."

"On the 4th of July, the roar of cannon at daybreak announced the seventieth anniversary of our nation's birth. Henry W. Bigler's journal of this date, in substance says of the celebration: 'These demonstrations pleased the citizens so well that they brought out all the wine and brandy we wanted, and a hundred times more.'

"In the evening, Captain Jesse D. Hunter and Colonel Stevenson, with Sergeant Hyde and Corporal Horace M. Alexander, who had been to Los Angeles, arrived and were heartily cheered. The prominent citizens of the town were also enthusiastically greeted, which pleased them much. They sincerely regretted that the company was going to leave them. Mrs. Bandina (Bandini) one of the most prominent ladies of the town, in an address, requested that the company take the American flag with them, as there would be no one left to defend it. Hers was a brief, but touching and patriotic speech." We believe this speech of Mrs. Bandini's, addressed to the officers and men of Company B of the Mormon Battalion, was the first public address made by a woman in California.

Ruins of the "Mormon Well" on Point Loma are within the government reservation of Fort Rosecrans. W. E. Smythe, in his History of San Diego at pages 259-260 says: "One of the most interesting episodes of the early days was the work of some Mormons bent upon the enterprise of mining coal on the north shore of Point Loma, late in 1855, in response to a 'revelation.' Obtaining a lease of land from the city trustees, they proceeded to make borings which penetrated several strata of coal, ranging from three inches to a foot in thickness. In April, 1856, they announced that they had discovered a vein of good coal four and a half feet thick, near the old lighthouse on Point Loma, and began to sink a shaft. Considerable machinery was installed and a few experienced miners, as well as engineers, employed; but nothing came of the enterprise. Naturally it excited high hopes while it lasted."

The San Diego Herald of November 24, 1855, says: Messrs. (H. S.) Ladd, Green, Turner and Serrine have made the discovery that a coal bed exists on the shore of the Pacific, about two miles north of Point Loma. The coal has been tested by some of our citizens and is found to burn with a clear bright flame, apparently without odor, and giving out intense heat. On being tried at a blacksmith's forge, it is found applicable to welding and other processes where great heat is required. . . . There is no doubt as to the quality of the coal, and should the vein prove abundant it will become a great source of wealth."—*Wintfred Davidson*.

## THE MORMON BATTALION IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

ON THE MARCH, JANUARY 17, 1847

On the way from Pozo Hondo over the desert to San Diego, the roads were heavy with sand. The men were exhausted and staggered as they marched. Some, being unable to keep up with their travels, slept at intervals and did not reach camp until the next morning. All but five govern-



ment wagons had been abandoned. Nearly all road tools had been lost in a boat disaster.

After four or five miles of very hard travel, mainly up hill, the weary men encountered a rugged mountain range two hundred feet high or more. Here they met with great difficulties, having to take their wagons up piece by piece and make roads where none had been before. However, they were encouraged by the arrival of Alcalde, an Indian messenger sent by the governor at San Diego with orders for the Battalion to march to San Diego instead of Los Angeles.

"Last night an express came from San Diego stating our vessel had arrived from the Sandwich Islands with provisions for us, in consequence all are cheerful in the hope of food again. After living on beef for a month without salt, we have obtained some pancakes and a few extras by selling our shirts and clothing to the Indians and Spaniards. Our clothes we are wearing now are almost worn out and many are barefoot."—From the *Journal of Robert S. Bliss* (Company B) Sunday, January 21.

"Last night we camped in a small valley close to a small mountain, it rained all night. An Indian joined our camp who appeared very friendly, he lay all night on the ground in the rain as was the custom. We gave him some meat. Later we learned that the Indians had killed eleven Spaniards, a few days before, and in return the Spaniards had killed forty Indians. The Indians thought we had come to save them from the invasion of the Spaniards and were friendly with our men."—From the *Journal of Sergeant N. V. Jones*.

"January 21st we traveled ten or twelve miles to Warner's Rancho. This was the first house we saw in California. (Now called Warner's Hot Springs where a marker has been placed honoring the Mormon Battalion.) Mr. Warner told us the Californians were hard pressed by our forces near Los Angeles, and we were liable to meet a large force returning to Sonora any day and must be prepared for what might happen. It rained steadily twenty-four hours, making travel difficult. Several mules strayed away and some died, those who had strayed were brought back by friendly Indians.

"On the 25th of January we received a dispatch from General Kearney ordering the march to continue to San Diego to meet him there. We reached Temecula Valley that day where we found some of the San Luis Rey Indians who had gathered to bury their dead. They mistook us, and we them, for Californians, both lines were in battle array before the mistake was discovered. When they knew who we really were, they were very much pleased to see us and their leaders heartily shook hands with Colonel Cooke and others."—*History by Daniel Tyler*.

"We traveled down the river in a beautiful valley. About twelve noon we came to San Luis Mission. About one mile below the Mission we turned upon the bluffs and, for the first time, saw the Pacific Ocean. We continued on and encamped three miles from the coast in a small valley close to a ranch."—From the *Journal of Sergeant Jones*.

#### IN SAN DIEGO

January 30th, 1847. "The Lieutenant Colonel commanding, congratulates the Battalion on their safe arrival on the shores of the Pacific Ocean, and the conclusion of their march of over two thousand miles. History may be searched in vain for an equal march of infantry. Half of it has been through a wilderness where nothing but savages and wild beasts are found,

or deserts where, for want of water, there is no living creature.

"There with almost hopeless labor we have dug deep wells which the future traveler will enjoy. Without a guide who had traversed them we have ventured into trackless table lands where water was not found. In several marches with crowbar and pickaxe we have worked our way over mountains which seemed to defy aught but wild goat. We have hewed a chasm through solid rock, more narrow than our wagons, to the Pacific. Thus, marching half naked and half fed, and living upon wild animals, we have discovered and made a road of great value.

"Arrived at the first settlement of California, after a single day's rest, you cheerfully turned off from the route to this point of promised repose, to enter upon a campaign and meet as we supposed the approach of an enemy. And this, too, without even salt to season your sole subsistence of fresh meat.

"Lieutenants A. J. Smith and George Stoneman, of the First Dragoons, have shared and given valuable aid. Thus Volunteers you have exhibited some high and essential qualities of Veterans, but much remains undone. Soon you will turn your attention to drilling to system and order, to forms also which are necessary to soldiers.

By Order Lieut. Col.

P. St. George Cooke

P. C. Miller, Adjutant."

General Kearney and Commodore Stockton had fought the last decisive battle with the Californians at Los Angeles. The enemy fled and met Fremont coming from the north where they entered with him, he signing himself as Governor. This caused a serious dispute which was finally settled at Washington. A counter course might have resulted in a Civil War.

Sergeant Tyler and others give this summary to the situation: "Had not the matter been referred to Washington, doubtless the Californians would have taken advantage of the situation to again take possession of the country. Thus the hand of God was again visible in preventing the shedding of blood. The many escapes of the Battalion from death and the shedding of blood are living miracles."

"On the 31st of January the Battalion remained in camp—no drill—several of the men visited the ports of San Diego. In the evening orders were issued to return to San Luis Rey. This was an essential precautionary measure to hold the Mission as a military post for the Battalion to be in readiness to meet any emergency, and maintain an important position between Los Angeles and San Diego. On the 15th of February, Company B was ordered to the Port of San Diego to garrison that place. The daily duties consisted of: Roll call at daylight, sick call at 7:30 A.M., breakfast at 8:40 A.M., drill at 10 A.M., and 3 P.M. Roll call at sundown, tattoo at 8:30 P.M., taps at 9 P.M. Then retirement and silence for the night.

"On the 17th of March, Sergeant William Hyde was appointed to take eighteen men and quarter in the fort built by the Marines on an eminence about one-fourth mile from town. This fort was constructed by digging a trench on the summit of a hill, placing a row of large logs around the same. Against these, gravel and rock were thrown up, thus forming a barricade which was thought to be invulnerable. Seventeen pieces of artillery were so arranged as to command the town and surrounding country."

"Religious services were held by the detachment every Sunday, and ~~were well attended by members and strangers.~~ Sergeant William Hyde and others delivered excellent discourses and lectures. These men were called on to give funeral sermons frequently. A society was organized called "The Young Men's Club." Lectures, debates, reciting, etc., proved enjoyable and uplifting."

There were some excellent poets in the ranks, and these poems give vivid word pictures of the march of the Mormon Battalion and when recited in their gathering would recall past experiences. *Death and the Wobles*, by Levi W. Hancock, a musician in Company E. *The Bull Fight on the San Pedro*, by Levi W. Hancock. *In These Hard Times*, by Azariah Smith, Company B.

"There were some complaints in the ranks at this time over short rations, and some of the officers and men were abused and ill treated by a man called 'Talebearing Dykes,' first lieutenant in Company D. He had been a trouble-maker all the way. He was the cause of Corporal Lane and Sergeant Jones losing their positions and reduced in the ranks. Dykes boasted about it, in fact, made so much trouble he had to look to members of the Battalion for protection, he made so many enemies.

"Colonel Cooke appointed Abraham Hunsaker a sergeant, Sanford Jacobs and William Barger, corporals, in Company D. On the 19th of March, Colonel Cooke ordered Companies A, C, D, and E, to Los Angeles, under Lieutenant Oman. There were no provisions in Los Angeles and the small amount the men took with them were nearly gone, so eight mule teams were dispatched to San Diego for supplies. Before their return the men ran completely out of food and had to go to bed supperless one night, and fast next morning."

"April 11th. Company C, Mormon Battalion will march tomorrow and take post in the Canyon Pass of the mountains forty-five miles east of Los Angeles. Lieutenant Rosecrans in command. Nearest to the narrowest and most defensible as the water and grass will admit of, to effectually prevent a passage of hostile Indians. You are to erect a sufficient cover of logs or earth for protection from sun and rain. It will be the duty to guard the Pass effectually and if necessary to send out armed parties either on foot or mounted, to defend the ranchos, or attack wandering parties of wild Indians.

P. St. George Cooke,  
Lieut. Col., Commanding."

From the daily practice in which the Battalion engaged while in the garrison most of the officers and men became very efficient in military tactics. Colonel Mason of the first Dragoons, an experienced officer, gave the Battalion the credit of excelling any volunteers he had ever seen going through the Manual of Arms.

"April 26th. Colonel Cooke gave orders to erect a fort on a hill overlooking Los Angeles. Captain Hunt was ordered to have the Battalion ready to form a line of battle at a moment's notice, with loaded guns and fixed bayonets. Word had been received that the Spaniards were attacking. The men stood guard all night but nothing happened. Although with the prospect of the Mexicans again rising and the low murmur of civil war, no one could predict what the outcome would be. Officers and men were imposed upon and insulted by Fremont's men. What Dragoons there were, pledged their loyalty to their country and the Battalion..

"When enemies came into town and began to abuse members of the Mormon Battalion, ~~the Dragoons would defend them by saying 'Stand back, these men are religious and we are not, we will take your fights into our hands. These men shall not be imposed upon.'~~

"On the 4th of May, an order was read by Colonel Cooke, giving the Battalion the privilege of being discharged on condition of enlisting for five years as United States Dragoons. But under the circumstances the generous offer could not be accepted.

On the 5th, news arrived of the death of the wife of Captain Hunter at San Diego on April the 27th. She left a male child about two weeks old, named Diego Hunter. The funeral discourse was given by Sergeant William Hyde. Mrs. Hunter was an estimable lady and respected by all.

"May 8th. Lieutenant Thompson, with twenty men of the Mormon Battalion, rationed for three days, were ordered to march immediately to a Rancho, within six miles of the foot of the mountain and use every effort to destroy the hostile Indians reported to be in the vicinity. There a skirmish took place, several were killed and wounded. The Indians were entirely surrounded and thwarted in their attack."—*Tyler's History*.

"Last night Private Albert Dunham died and was buried in the American burying ground at the Harbor, beside Capt. Hunter's wife."

"On the 9th of May Gen. Kearney arrived at Los Angeles, he remarked to an officer that history might be searched in vain for an infantry march equal to that performed by the Battalion, all circumstances considered and added: "Bonaparte crossed the Alps, but these men crossed a continent."

On the 10th of May, Gen. Kearney addressed the Battalion. He dwelt at some length upon the arduous journey, their patriotism to the government, obedience to order. He paid a very high tribute to the veterans known as the Mormon Battalion. He sympathized with them upon the unsettled conditions of their people, but as their final destination was not settled, we had better enlist for another year, by then the war would doubtless be over, and our families settled in some permanent place.

Three men were detailed from each company as an escort to accompany the General to Fort Leavenworth. An interesting fossil discovery was made on the beach by H. W. Bigler and others, the skeleton of a whale, the ribs were nine feet long and ten inches broad bleached white, these were taken to the garrison and used as seats.

On the 14th of June, news of General Taylor's victory in Mexico was received, and twenty rounds of artillery were fired and the General cheered loud and long. On the 22nd Col. Stevenson arrived from Los Angeles and addressed Co. B. He spoke in the highest terms of the industry and morals of the Battalion, and of their good reputation among the Californians and expressed a great desire to have the men re-enlist for six months. Captain Hunter followed in a short speech and offered to re-enlist for six months.

On the 29th H. W. Bigler and others cleared the first yard for molding brick in California. The labor was performed by a San Diego man by the name of Bandini.

On the 15th Co. B arrived from San Diego, preparatory to being discharged, and the next day at 5 P.M., the five companies of the Battalion were formed according to the letters of the Co., A in front, E in rear,



leaving a few feet of space between. The notorious Lieut. A. J. Smith marched down between the lines in one direction and back between the next line, and in a low voice said: "You are discharged."

"Friday 16th. Were mustered and discharged for which I felt thankful to my Heavenly Father that I had been preserved to accomplish the work I was sent to do thus far, from the 16th to the 21st we were detained to receive our pay and prepare for our journey to our beloved families."—From *Diary of Robert Bliss*.

The disappointments and also the heartbreak and hardships were not over for these men. A few quotations from journals will tell of the endurance and faith of these grand soldiers.

"Today I am forty-two years old. Twelve months ago today we marched into Fort Leavenworth. Many are the hardships and privations, God grant I may not see so many in the year to come. Today Capt. Brown and Co. came into camp. I received a letter from my wife which gave me great joy, but my heart was sad when I learned of the death of my mess mate, E. N. Freeman, whom I left on the Rio Del Norte. He was one of the best men I ever knew. I also heard of the death of Henry Hoyt who was behind us. He was buried as decently as the circumstances would permit. May God bless and comfort their loved ones.

"Made 20 miles today and camped at a ranch. The first man I saw was T. Bingham, my old mess mate who was left behind sick at Santa Fe. From him I learned my family was still in the east which was one of the greatest trials of my life: to think I had left them with the expectation I would meet them here. I had suffered almost everything but death, and traveled 1500 miles since the 1st of July with joyful hope of meeting them, but they were 1100 miles from here, and no possible chance of getting to them for 8 or 10 months."—*Journal of Sergeant William Hyde*.

On the 20th of July the Battalion organized into companies of fifties and hundreds for the purpose of defense and assistance in traveling homeward. Sergeant William Hyde was chosen Captain of the 1st Co. After crossing the Sierra Nevada mountains without so much as an Indian trail to guide them, they were met by Capt. Brown with letters. Sergeant Hyde learned of the death of his only sister at Council Bluffs, where he had left his family in a covered wagon. He also learned of the birth of a son, William, his first child.—*Mary L. Ibey*.

#### UTAH AND THE CIVIL WAR

The people of Utah for many years had tried to secure statehood, but without success; and at the outbreak of the Civil War were working hard to have this accomplished. At the same time efforts were being put forth to induce Utah to secede from the Union, a proposition having been made by two Southern members of Congress to the delegate from Utah, that the Utah Territory should secede. They said, "Utah had her grievances to redress and then (1861) was the time to have them redressed." It was pointed out to Utah's delegate "what great support it would give the Southern Cause, if Utah was to rise in rebellion against the government." The delegate replied that Utah indeed "had difficulties with the government; but we calculate that they will be righted in the government, or we will endure them." "This has been uniformly our feelings," said Elder John Taylor (afterwards President of the Church), who declared this incident in a public discourse in the tabernacle at Salt Lake City, March 5,

1865. The delegate from Utah to Congress was the Hon. William H. Hooper. (*Journal of Discourses*, Vol. II, p. 93.)

The attitude of Utah upon the subject of the war between the States was frequently expressed by leading men of the Church in their speeches in the "Old Tabernacle." They reviewed the treatments received by the Mormon people while in the States, and felt that if they were to share the burdens of the Union, justice demanded that Utah should be granted Statehood. They unequivocally stood for the Constitution of the United States; at the same time condemning political policies of the times. John Taylor, in one of his addresses said, "We know no North, no South, no East, no West; we abide strictly and positively by the Constitution, and cannot, by the intrigues or sophism of either part, be cajoled into any other attitude." (Speech of July 4, 1861.) However the war tax of \$26,982, levied against Utah was met, although it was a great hardship for the people, because of the scarcity of money.

To add to President Lincoln's troubles in the early days of the War, renegade white men and Indians had pulled down the telegraph lines, robbed the mail, burned the stations, and worst of all, murdered travelers along the trail. As a result, the mail routes were closed, a condition the United States government could not allow.

At the order of President Lincoln, Adjutant General L. Thomas sent a telegram to Brigham Young at Salt Lake City requesting him to raise a company of cavalry. The request was as follows: "You are requested to muster into the service of the United States a company of Utah volunteer cavalry, to arm and equip them immediately and send them east for the protection of the mail and telegraph lines extending from the North Platte river below Independence Rock on the old Mormon Pioneer Trail, to Fort Bridger, a distance of 600 miles." Previous to this Brigham Young had sent a telegram along the same wire to President Lincoln announcing that "Utah is for the Union and does not believe in secession." President Young was not slow in complying with the request. This is the telegram sent to Adjutant General Thomas:

Great Salt Lake City, Utah,  
May 1, 1862

Adjutant General Thomas,  
Washington, D. C.

"Upon receipt of your telegram of April 27, I requested General Daniel H. Wells of the Utah Militia to proceed at once to raise a company of cavalry and equip and muster them into the service of the United States army for ninety days, as per your telegram. General Wells forthwith issued the necessary orders and on the 29th of April, the commissioned officers and non-commissioned officers and privates, including teamsters, were mustered in by Chief Justice John F. Kinney and the company went into camp adjacent to the city the self same day." (Signed) Brigham Young.

The men furnished all their own equipment, at their own expense, something otherwise unknown in the history of the Civil War. There were in all 106 men; 23 officers, 72 privates and 11 teamsters. Twenty days after they left their homes, they reached Independence Rock, where they joined Colonel Collins, acting divisional Commander of the Upper Missouri and Platte River districts of the federal forces, thus becoming a part of the Regular Army of the United States. Colonel Collins was very humane in

his treatment of the Indians. The captain of this group was Lot Smith who had served his country with the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War. He was also noted for his work as a pioneer scout, and soldier, being utterly fearless in facing danger, in the performance of duty. Before leaving Great Salt Lake City the company of cavalry was camped at the mouth of Emigration Canyon where at noon on Friday, May 2, 1862, Brigham Young and Daniel H. Wells took dinner with the enlisted men, and gave them excellent advice. Among other things Brigham Young desired that the men "conduct themselves in such a manner that their loyalty to their church and government be uppermost in their thoughts and actions. They were to be moral, to leave intoxicating liquors alone, and act as peace-makers among the Indians; to never take human life, neither white or Indian, except in the discharge of duty." The records of the Civil War Department state "that as a company or individuals their conduct was above reproach." They always had their morning and evening prayers, and endeavored to remember President Young's advice.

The expedition was no pleasure trip, because of the weather and rough roads, with deep snows and high water to encounter making travel hazardous and laborious—the year 1862 is remembered as the season of the highest water ever experienced in the Rocky Mountains. In the last part of July, 1862, this command set out from Fort Bridger in pursuit of a band of Indians who had robbed the ranch of a mountaineer in that vicinity by the name of John Robinson. For a period of eight days of forced marches, part of the time on short rations and enduring severe hardships they trailed the Indians into the heart of the Indian country in the Snake River region, but did not succeed in overtaking them. The Lot Smith command returned to Salt Lake City on the ninth of August, 1862, only having one fatality, that of Donald McMichol who was carried away by the swift current of the Snake River on July 25. On August 14 the company was mustered out of service.

Another group called upon to do the same duty as the Lot Smith command was the Robert T. Burton company which consisted of over twenty men. Upon requisition of acting governor Frank Fuller who had been requested by Major J. E. Eaton of the Overland Mail Company to give protection of mail, passengers and property, General Daniel H. Wells of the Utah Militia detailed the little company to this assignment. The company escorted Honorable Chauncey W. West and senator-elect William H. Hooper part of the way on their journey eastward. It was just two days after this command left Salt Lake City that the call came from Abraham Lincoln to Brigham Young to form a cavalry group (the Lot Smith Company) for the self same purpose. The Burton Company also experienced severe hardships, but succeeded in the work it was called upon to do. It returned to Salt Lake City, May 31, 1862, just a little over a month from the time of leaving, April 26, 1862, with no losses of either man or animal.

The part played by the Utah Commonwealth in the Civil War did not necessitate the fighting of brother against brother; but far removed from the bloody battlefields of the Civil War, the Utah soldiers guarded a certain part of the westward trail, to keep it open for communication and transportation, always on the defensive, and taking no life. They loved the constitution of the United States, they did their work effectively, and returned home, honored by their friends and their country.—*Laura P. Angell King.*

## The Indian And The Pioneer

"White man greetings! We, near whose bones you stand, were Iroquois, The wide land, which now is yours, was ours.  
Friendly hands have given back to us enough for a tomb."

*(Inscription carved on Indian monument at Burial Mounds near Osage, New York)*

American History begins in 1492, when Columbus stumbled upon an unknown continent, while searching for a westward route to India. However the real history of the new continent and its people started many centuries before that time. While it is true that many of them were nomadic hunting tribes, yet in many parts of the western continent were thriving permanent groups of dwellers. So, in the years before recorded history, the American Indians lived in castles, the ruins of which are found in Peru and Mexico, or, was a member of the tribes of cliff-dwellers which archaeologists have unearthed in Old Mexico, in New Mexico, Arizona and in southeastern Utah.

Coronado found these people in 1540, visited their homes, some of which have since become ruins settling in the desert sands to await the excavations of the modern scientists. But the history of his civilization has been left in the Indian's deserted dwellings, in his sacred religious or council rooms; in the stores of pottery; and in the burial grounds that are being unearthed. They reached a high development as cultivators of the soil and as artisans creating beautiful objects for daily use. Pottery, baskets, ornaments of bone and turquoise were used in the daily life of these ancient Americans. For the Indian is a born artist, whether he is making a piece of pottery for his own use, or pounding out a bit of jewelry for personal adornment, he devotes infinite care to his work.

### Religion of the Indian

The religion of the Redman does not differ greatly from the beliefs of the Christian of today. The Indian bows in reverence to the great spirit or ruler of all. He offers sacrifice and has faith in his offering, prays incessantly and believes that the soul of man is immortal. He enjoys the fullest life, is a responsible father and protector of his family, a good neighbor and friend.

"The Indian character, in its unadulterated grandeur, is most admirable and attractive. Before it is polluted by the pernicious example of